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WASHINGTON, D. C.

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QUESTIONS ANSWERED.

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THURSDAY, MARCH 4, 1852.

Subscribers who do not file the *Era*, and have numbers 249, 261, 262, and 264, on hand, will confer a favor by remitting them to this office, at our expense.

PARTIES IN THE SOUTH.

The Constitutional Union Party, which has obtained temporary control of the States of Mississippi, Alabama, and Georgia, is somewhat divided in opinion as to the course it shall pursue in the approaching Presidential campaign. Some of its Democratic members are anxious that it should send delegates to the Baltimore Democratic Convention, for the purpose of checkingmate the Free-Soilers, and securing the nomination of a Union man acceptable to the South—rather a hazardous step. What kind of credentials would such delegates present? Representing the old Democratic organization, how could they expect to be received as members of a Democratic Convention? Would the Northern Democrats, wedded as they are to established usages, consent to receive a mongrel delegation, representing a hostile organization, and seeking admission avowedly for the purpose of excommunicating what are called Free Soil Democrats?

Thus far the suggestion has not found much favor. The policy of the Union Party of the South, so far as disclosed by its principal organs, is to maintain its independence, decline participation in the Conventions of the old parties, to hold itself in reserve for the purpose of deciding on the comparative merits of the nominations of those parties, and then submitting to the public. The Alabama Union men have called a National Convention, to meet in this city, after the other Conventions shall have acted.

Mr. Stephens, a member of the House from Georgia, has lately written a letter to a gentleman in Georgia, in which he unqualifiedly opposes the proposition to send delegates to the Baltimore Convention, arguing that the true course of the Union men is to demand right action by the Conventions of the Whigs and Democrats, as a condition precedent, because the condition of the claims of their nominations assumes that the old political organizations are "effete and corrupt," utterly unworthy for the protection of Southern rights and interests. The Alabama Union men, standing on this position at home, shall acknowledge their error and put themselves upon their principles, and shall purge that body of its Free Soil elements, and shall also present to the country a good candidate for the Presidency, it will be time enough for us to connect ourselves with their action after they have given us these evidences of their being entitled to our confidence and co-operation. A good candidate, standing on our principles, and put forward by an organization standing upon the same principles, is all we want. * * * That Convention, therefore, so called and so constituted, as well as all other National Conventions, whether Democratic or Whig, must be put right on the record as a condition precedent, before looking to me for any support or countenance. I speak only for myself. The Constitutional Union party can speak for itself when its Convention assembles. But can any one doubt that the moral power and influence of our position upon the action of the Baltimore Convention would be much greater outside than inside of its deliberations? Would they be less likely to comply with our demands from fear of our defiance in case of refusal, than to be controlled by our wishes after a voluntary surrender?

It might be well for our Free Soil friends of the North to ask themselves a similar question. "No occasion has yet arisen for an appeal to the whole people of the United States upon the principles of our organization. Whether such an occasion shall arise, may depend upon the action of this Baltimore Convention. Alabama already called a National Convention on our principles, to assemble in this city after the Baltimore Convention. To this latter Convention we should not fail to send delegates. Should such a state of things then exist as to require a new national Convention, we should and proper to carry out our principles. I feel assured that the late results in Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi, are but proofs of what may be expected in other sections of the country, where similar efforts may be made for similar objects. And in this connection I feel that the idea of reorganizing either of the old parties in this country upon sound national principles, is in my opinion, a result and a look for with much confidence. As organizations, these parties are both effete and corrupt. They both make professions in 'platforms' which they never intend to carry out. These platforms or programs have become nothing but artificial devices, by which demagogues are enabled to delude and cheat the people. 'New wine is not to be put into old bottles, else they burst.' And if the people infuse new and sound principles into either of those worn-out parties should be successful, a like result may be expected. It is quite probable that it should be otherwise; for the elements in each are discordant, conflicting, and hostile."

Mr. Stephens is no friend of Intervention doctrines. "But apart from considerations growing out of the present condition of the slavery question, and other questions of domestic policy, on which there is equally as wide a difference of opinion between the two great wings of the old parties, there are still other and new questions arising, upon which most probably still wider differences of opinion will exist. The question of interfering with any taking part in European politics will soon be upon us. 'Coming events cast their shadows before.' At this time we see a man, of unusual address and great ability, traversing the Northern States of the Union, and urging upon the people the abandonment of those principles which have been coeval with the existence of our Government in our relations with the various monarchies and dynasties of the Old World. His object evidently is, to implant in the public mind the principle that it is our duty to join in a general crusade for the liberties of mankind. These wild and disturbing doctrines have been embodied in resolutions and adopted with enthusiasm by large and respectable meetings in diverse places. The day is not distant when the questions involved in these doctrines will become practical issues. They will present subjects of vast magnitude and momentous importance for the consideration of the American people. And upon them, as well as upon those other kindred questions to which I have alluded, men in all sections who think alike must organize and act together, without respect to past differences of opinion on other points, or an early doom will be our destiny, unless a full measure of true greatness which is our real mission to strain, and which nothing short of the united patriotism of the whole country can secure."

He closes with emphatic words, revealing the unalterable purpose of the Union men of the South to wage exterminating war against the Anti-Slavery sentiment, a sentiment prevalent among the masses of the free-State people.

"In conclusion, I will add that our policy is to hold our position. We should unite with no party that fails as a condition precedent to incorporate in its creed those principles which we consider as essential to the maintenance of the States. We should stand aloof from all parties that do not purge themselves from all alliance and association with Free-Soilism. We should stand by our principles wherever they may lead us, 'through you' as well as

'through me,' and maintain them now, and always, if need be, until they are, and the Republic, parish together in a common ruin."

BUFFALO AND BALTIMORE—1848 AND 1852.

"I confess myself disappointed in the results of the Buffalo Convention. To me at the time it did seem that the people had become thoroughly awake, both to their rights and their duties, and that party attachments are no longer to prevent a manly, fearless assertion of the rights of the free North to take the control of the Government, and to yield it in favor of liberty."

"While I believe that that demonstration did exert a salutary influence on the then pending election, I am constrained to admit that the high hopes then formed have faded away, and left the sad conviction that the people of the free States are yet to learn lessons of deep humiliation, before they will rise to the true position and dignity of freemen."—*Extract of a Letter from A. A. Gihrie to the Free Soil Convention of Ohio.*

The organization of the friends of Freedom, represented by the Convention which met at Buffalo on the 9th and 10th of August, 1848, was a reorganization of the Liberty party of 1840, rendered necessary by the new and extraordinary schemes of slavery. A vast expanse of free territory had been obtained by conquest from a sister Republic, which was intended by a Slaveholding Administration to be converted to the uses of Slave Labor. The Slave Power made no secret of its purpose. Slavery was to be planted in the new Territory, in defiance of its local law: new slave States were to be developed, to increase the political power of Slaveholders in Congress and the Electoral College, so as to secure and perpetuate their ascendancy: the necessity of emancipation was to be indefinitely postponed, by laying the foundation of an indefinite extension of Slave territory; and for the execution of this plan the whole power of the Federal Government, sustained as it is by a People three-fourths of whom reside in non-slaveholding States, and four-fifths of whom are opposed to the perpetration of Slavery, was to be placed under contribution.

The public mind was profoundly agitated; the People of the free States protested loudly against the scheme; old political organizations were shaken; and when they embarked in the Presidential contest of 1848, with declarations and nominations from which no effectual resistance against Slaveholding usurpation could be expected, numerous voters who had till then acted with them indicated their anxiety to enter a protest at the ballot-box against their policy.

The Liberty men, in accordance with their wishes, had already held their Convention and nominated their candidates, but they did not wish to be in the way of a movement in the right direction more comprehensive than their own. If they maintained their position, they might receive serious accessions from the ranks of the disaffected members of the old parties, but the great body of these would either return to their allegiance, retire in disgust from the struggle, or proclaim nominations of their own. In any event, there would have been no such demonstration at the polls as would have embarrassed the plans and impaired the force of the Slavery Propagandists. On the contrary, by agreeing to unite with their fellow-citizens, who were prepared to take an anti-slavery position, they would secure unity in the ranks of the friends of Freedom, impress their own principles upon the new organization, and aid in a political movement imposing in aspect and beneficent in effects.

Wise, as we think, they determined upon the late course, and the Buffalo Convention was the result. This gave form and efficiency to nearly all the active, independent anti-slavery sentiment of the country. The platform of political action it agreed upon contained substantially the creed of the Liberty party on the subject of Slavery, only in a form more precise, less liable to misconstruction, and better adapted to the exigencies of the times; and, in addition, a declaration of principles upon other political questions, which must be considered and acted upon by the People, and for the just disposition of which every voter must bear his share of responsibility.

In other words, the Liberty party is reorganized by a party of one idea. In its reorganized form, without sacrificing any principle it had urged in relation to Slavery, it proclaimed principles applicable to all other political questions. It had ceased to be sectional—it was now National. Its platform was the Constitution—its scope, commensurate with the objects of the Constitution.

We see nothing to regret in the whole movement. It was wisely planned, well executed, and its results, temporary and permanent, have been all that could reasonably be expected.

We did not elect our own candidates, but we contributed to, if we did not cause, the defeat of a candidate, who had made himself singularly obnoxious by his concessions to Slavery, and whose success would have promoted the accomplishment of all its schemes.

We did not poll one-half of the votes of the Union, but our vote was large enough to show the politicians of the ruling party that they could not look for success, while trampling under foot every principle of Democracy.

We did not succeed in obtaining a positive act from Congress prohibiting Slavery in the Territories, but the power of the movement was represented as such, as to constrain the Administration to countenance measures favorable to the views, such as to weaken the confidence of the Slaveholders in their own doctrines respecting the title to their slaves in free territory, such as to impregnate the title of emigration to California with the anti-slavery spirit, thereby inducing the formation of a non-slaveholding State on the Pacific, by which our entire Western seaboard was consecrated to Freedom.

Among the other results attributable to this movement, directly or indirectly, are, the repeal of the Black Laws of Ohio; the election of from ten to fifteen members of the House for two successive Congresses, acting independently of organizations when controlled by slavery; the election of Messrs. Chase and Sumner to the Senate of the United States; the control of Wisconsin, Ohio, New York, and Massachusetts, by coalitions, not to be coerced into submission to the dictates of the Slave Power; distraction in the old political organizations always subservient to Slavery, which thus far no efforts have succeeded in allaying; a more general discussion of questions of slavery, in Congress and out, than had ever taken place before; and such a state of the public mind as to have checked, if not extinguished, the project of Cuban annexation. Nor must we forget that it was under the pressure of this Buffalo Convention, that the Oregon Bill, with its clause prohibiting Slavery, was carried through Congress.

That more has not been accomplished, is no argument against a movement that has accomplished so much. It was not to be expected that the old parties would be not reformed, or annihilated, that the power of Slavery would be instantly subverted, that politicians would be all converted into philanthropists, and the masses of the People be all converted to a full sense of what was due the cause of Freedom. Those who expected this have of course been disappointed; they expected more than any came, short of a miracle, could produce.

Suppose there had been no Buffalo Convention, no such united movement against the pretensions of Slavery in 1848, as was represented by that meeting, what then? The Liberty Party, with its one idea, might have cast its own power—its fifty, sixty, or eighty, thousand—into the press of the North generally, agitating and protesting on the subject of Slavery, the agitation would have been confined chiefly to the journals of that Party, and have soon abated among the People at large; and instead of the co-operative policy among the friends of freedom of all parties, which has been so successful in the election of prominent anti-slavery men, and overthrow of politicians conspicuous for their loyalty to Slavery, the old policy of isolation would have been adhered to, until every man of practical views and interested in questions affecting the public welfare, had been alienated.

Let us try again. We are determined that California shall remain free—that Slavery shall not find foothold in Mexico and Utah—that, while not interfering through the Federal Government with Slavery where it exists, under the protection of State laws, it shall not, beyond their jurisdiction, claim title and protection under the Constitution of the United States—that the element of Freedom, the fundamental idea of Democracy, shall have its legitimate weight in the Federal Councils, and that Slavery shall not prescribe tests of fellowship in national parties, and of position in national affairs. We are determined to withdraw our support from it, all factious support from it, the support of the Federal Government from it, understanding that whenever the limit is fixed beyond which it cannot pass, and it must live only under the protection of State laws and upon State resources, it will soon come to be regarded by its supporters, not as an institution to be perpetuated, but as an evil to be rid of.

With this determination in regard to Slavery, it will be easy to agree upon our course in relation to other important questions. We have done it once—we do it again. The old Buffalo platform is still in good condition—a plank or two less, a plank or two more, and we shall have a sound, broad basis, Constitutional, Democratic, American.

We need not be precipitate. Premature action is not necessary to bind us who have no doubt respecting the action of the old Party Conventions in the spring, and must tend to repel those who still cherish a lingering hope of the defeat of Hunkerism. We cannot blame the anti-slavery adherents of the old parties, who have determined to do all they can to give a right direction to their Conventions, proposing independent action only in the event of failure. If they fail, as they will, independent action will become their duty. Allegiance to Power is due while Party maintains allegiance to its principles. The Whig who has claimed that his Party is for Freedom and Progress, and has protested against the Compromise and Fugitive Law, cannot go with it when through its National Convention it shall commit itself to these measures, and against Freedom and Progress. The Democrat who holds that his Party is for Human Rights, believes that a majority ought to rule, rejects the fetters of vested rights and finally in legislation, cannot go with it when through its National Convention it shall trample upon every Principle he cherishes.

What, then, will they do? Disfranchise themselves? Do nothing, because their Parties have done wrong? Hide their light under a bushel? Permit the Ballot-Box to speak but in the language, that of submission to the Slave Power? This is the choice that select voters who have never yet "bent the knee to the dark spirit of Slavery," they will rally on the basis of the Principles, and for the accomplishment of the Objects, proclaimed by the Convention of Free men that met at Buffalo in 1848.

What are these Principles and Objects? They are stated in the following resolutions:

SLAVERY.
Resolved, That we, the people here assembled, remembering the example of our fathers in the days of the Declaration of Independence, putting our trust in God, and triumph of our cause, and invoking his guidance in our endeavors to advance it, do now plant ourselves upon the National Platform of Freedom, in opposition to the sectional platform of Slavery.

Resolved, That slavery in the several States of this Union which recognize its existence, depending upon States alone, which cannot be repealed or modified by the Federal Government, and for which laws that Government is not responsible. We therefore propose no interference by Congress with slavery within the limits of the States.

Resolved, That the proviso of Jefferson to limit the extension of slavery after 1800 in all the Territories of the United States, Southern and Northern; the votes of six States and sixteen delegates to the Congress of 1789, for the proviso, to three States and seven delegates against it; the actual exclusion of slavery from the Northwestern Territory, by the Ordinance of 1787, unanimously adopted by the States in Congress; and the entire history that pertains clearly show that it was the settled policy of the nation not to extend, nationalize, or encourage, but to limit, localize, and discourage, slavery; and that, in the States in which it has been introduced, the Government ought to restrain it.

Resolved, That our Fathers ordained the Constitution of the United States, in order, among other great objects, to establish justice, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty, but expressly denied to the Federal Government, which they created, all authority to deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due legal process.

Resolved, That, in the judgment of this Convention, Congress has no more power to make a slave the property of a King; no more power to institute or establish slavery than to institute or establish a monarchy—no such power can be found among those specifically conferred by the Constitution or derived by just implication from them.

Resolved, That it is the duty of the Federal Government to relieve itself from all responsibility for the existence or continuance of slavery, wherever that Government possesses constitutional authority to legislate on that subject, and is thus responsible for its existence.

Resolved, That the true, and, in the judgment of this Convention, the only safe means of preventing the extension of slavery into territory now free, is to prohibit its existence in all such territory by an act of Congress.

Resolved, That we accept the issue which the slave power has forced upon us, and to their demand for more slave States, and more slave Territories, our calm but final answer is, no more slave States, and no more slave Territory.

Resolved, That we will not be kept free, for the hardy pioneers of our own land, and the oppressed and banished of other lands, seeking homes of comfort and fields of labor, in the new world.

CHEAP POSTAGE—RETRIBUTION—UNNECESSARY OFFICES—ELECTIONS BY THE PEOPLE.

Resolved, That we demand cheap postage for the people; a reimbursement of the expenses incurred by the Federal Government in the abolition of all unnecessary offices and salaries; and the election by the people of all civil officers in the service of the Government, so far as the same may be practicable.

RIVER AND HARBOR IMPROVEMENTS.

Resolved, That River and Harbor Improvements, when demanded by the safety and convenience of commerce with foreign nations or among the several States, are objects of national concern, and that it is the duty of Congress, in the exercise of its constitutional powers, to provide therefor.

LAND FOR THE LANDLESS.

Resolved, That the free grant to actual settlers.

tion, in consideration of the expenses they incur, in making settlements in the wilderness, which are usually fully equal to their actual cost, and of the public benefits resulting therefrom, of reasonable portions of the public land under suitable limitations, is a wise and judicious measure of public policy, which will promote, in various ways, the interests of all the States of this Union; and we therefore recommend it to the favorable consideration of the American People.

Resolved, That the obligations of honor and patriotism require the earliest practicable payment of the national debt, and we are therefore, in favor of such measures as will raise revenue adequate to defray the necessary expenses of the Federal Government and to pay annual instalments of our debt and the interest thereon.

Resolved, That we inscribe on our banner "Free Soil, Free Speech, Free Labor, and Free Men," and under it will fight on and fight over, until a triumphant victory shall reward our exertions.

We should prefer a resolution in relation to the Tariff, recognizing distinctly the Principle of Free Trade, but that, as the Tariff is the usual Democratic ground for testing the policy of a Union man, we deem it better to test the loyalty of the Tariff, than to test the necessity of raising revenue.

It might be well to add to this platform an affirmation in regard to the Principle of Intervention, so ably advocated in a recent speech in the House by Mr. Giddings, and the following form adopted by the late Ohio State Democratic Convention might serve the purpose:

Resolved, That we recognize the sovereign and inalienable right of every nation to establish and maintain such form of government as may accord with the views of its own people, and that no interference on the part of other nations is clearly an infringement of international law and natural justice.

Resolved, That the law of nations is in the opinion of the men who did not become parties to it, is an offence against all others; and that they are bound, in duty to themselves and to each other, to prevent or punish such infraction by all means not incompatible with their own interests.

Let it be remembered that the Buffalo Convention was a full representation of the Radical Democrats of New York, that many of its leading actors were Barnburners, as called; that the resolutions were reported by a committee in which eighteen States were represented, the chairman of which was Benjamin F. Butler, a distinguished New York Democrat; that the platform adopted was fully sustained by the real Democracy of that State, and received the sanction of Martin Van Buren, who was also chosen as the standard-bearer of the new organization. Where will this gentleman, and those who sympathize with him, be found in 1852? In opposition to a policy they sustained in 1848? Supporting what in 1848 they opposed? It was the inadmissible demand of the Slave Power in 1848, and the submission to this demand by the Baltimore nominee for the Presidency, that drove them into a course of independent action; will they sustain a similar demand and submission in 1852? Will the men who insisted four years ago upon directing the Federal Government to disavow the Compromise and Fugitive Law, whose action will be directed towards subjecting the former to the latter for the next four years? Will the men who four years ago voted against General Cass, vote for him now, with his views unchanged, or for a candidate holding precisely the same views in regard to Slavery? Time will determine. Let us not judge our friends hastily, but assume that when the hour shall come for a decision, their conduct will be consistent with their past course, and in harmony with the claims of Principle.

MOVEMENT IN THE HOUSE ON THE COMPROMISE MEASURES.

Dr. Fitch of Indiana, who was first elected to Congress on the strength of an Anti-Slavery pledge, moved a suspension of the rules, last Monday, for the purpose of introducing a resolution in support of the Compromise, and against Anti-Slavery agitation. The roll being called, the following absences were excused, several on account of sickness:

Messrs. Allen of Massachusetts, Bibbiana of New York, Brown of New Jersey, Burdett of New York, Caldwell, Cleveland, Colecock, Cullem, Darby, Dimmick, Floyd, Goodrich, Hamilton, Hillyer, Holladay, Houston, Thomas M. Howe, Hunter, Johnson, Jones, Kent, Martin, Miller, Robinson, Russell, Seward, Sevier, Stevens of New York, Sweetser, Toombs, Tuck, and Walsh.

For the absence of the following gentlemen, no excuses were offered:

Messrs. Babcock, Bates, Cottman, Dunham, Gilmore, Ives, Marshall of California, and Riddle.

All further proceedings under the call were then dispensed with.

The question recurring on the motion to suspend the rules, it was put, and decided in the negative by the following vote—two-thirds not voting therefor:

YEAS—Messrs. Abernethy, Wells, Allen, John Appleton, Appleton, Wells, Allen, Darby, Dimmick, Bailey, Thomas B. Bayly, Beale, Russell, Breckinridge, Briggs, Brooks, A. G. Brown, Barstow, Busby, Edward C. Cabell, Caskie, Chastain, Churchill, Clark, Cobb, Curtis, John G. Davis, Dawson, Dismas, Donnelly, Edmundson, Evans, Ewing, Faulkner, Ficklin, Fitch, Florence, Freeman, Henry M. Fuller, Thomas J. D. Fuller, Gamble, George, Giddings, Gilmore, Gilman, Goodrich, Hall, Hammond, Iham G. Harris, Sampson W. Harris, Hart, Hays, Haven, Hendricks, Henn, Hibbard, Howard, J. W. Howe, Ingersoll, Jackson, A. Johnson, James Johnson, R. W. Johnson, Geo. W. Jones, Gladys Jones, Kuhn, Kurtz, Lathrop, Letcher, Lockhart, Mace, Humphrey Marshall, Mason, McCorkle, McDonald, McLellan, McMullen, McNeil, Meade, Miller, John Moore, Robinson, Morison, Murphy, Nelson, Olds, Outlaw, Andrew Parker, Samuel W. Parker, Pease, Penn, Phelps, Polk, Porter, Powell, Richardson, Robbins, Savage, Schell, Sevier, Stricker, S. Seymour, Skelton, Smith, Stanley, Frederick P. Stanton, Fitch, H. Stanton, Alexander H. Stephens, Stone, St. Martin, Strother, Stuart, Steadman, Taylor, Benjamin Thompson, George W. Thompson, Venable, and Watkins. AIDEN WHITE, Alexander White, Wilson, Williams—119.

NAYS—Messrs. Aiken, Allison, Andrews, Babcock, Barre, Bartlett, Bell, Bennett, Bowne, Boyd, Brenton, Joseph Cable, L. D. Campbell, Thompson Campbell, Carter, Chandler, Chapman, Clingman, Conger, Daniel, George T. Davis, Dean, Doty, Duncan, Durkee, Eastman, Egerton, Fowler, Gaylord, Goodnow, Green, Grow, Harper, Haskell, Hebard, Horford, T. Y. Howe, Jun, Jenkins, John Johnson, Daniel T. Jones, George G. King, Preston King, Murray, Meacham, Molony, Henry D. Moore, McQueen, Newton, Orr, Pennington, Perkins, Price, Rantoul, Robt. Ross, Schmitt, Schoellkopf, Schoonmaker, D. L. Seymour, Smart, Snow, B. Stanton, Thaddeus Stevens, Stratton, Thurston, Townsend, Walbridge, Wallace, Washburn, Welch, Wells, Willard, Wood, and Yates—74.

Messrs. Giddings and J. W. Howe voted to suspend the rules, for the purpose of securing a direct vote on the resolution. How many others were actuated by a similar motive, we do not know. The great majority of those voting against suspending would not vote against the resolution.

Some things are demonstrated by these proceedings. There are opponents enough of the resolution to prevent its introduction, as it requires two-thirds to suspend the rules.

There is a majority in the House in favor of the resolution, a large portion of which is composed of Northern Whigs and Democrats.

The National Convention of both the old Democratic and Whig parties, will not consent to the Democratic party shall be the pack-house of Slavery!

If any one can doubt, after this, the fitness of the Washington Union to be the central

THE "ORGANS."

THE UNION—THE DEMOCRATIC ORGAN.

The Washington Union, in the exercise of its functions as the "Central Organ of the Democratic Party," is pouring oil on the troubled waters of Southern Democracy. It grieves over the divisions which depress the prospective spirit of its factions, it would gather them all again in one fold, under one shepherd. It will not consent to the excommunication of the Compromise or Anti-Compromise, the Union or Disunion Democrat. No matter, though erring brethren may be carried away by an excess of devotion to State Rights, or an extravagant passion for the Union—the circumstances excuse, if they do not justify, their erratic course. One sought, by a new combination, to secure acquiescence in measures believed essential to the preservation of the Union—the other forgot for the time his loyalty to the Party, in the attempt to guard against the dangers of Northern fanaticism. The occasion for all this agitation and confusion has passed, why should the feud be kept alive? Why should there be strife? Are they not all good Democrats—all sincere and worthy members of the household of faith?

What is the effect of the allegation that the Democratic members of the Union organization of the South are renegades from their party, or, vice versa, that the Southern Rights or State Rights organization is incurably stained by disloyalty to the Constitution and the Union? Evidently a perpetuation of these feuds, and a surrender of the Government to the Whigs.

No dispassionate mind will suppose that the Democratic party of this Union can ever consider those as renegades from its service who refused to sanction the ultra schemes of the Southern Convention; and yet such would seem to be the expectation of those who assail with impunity the men who did not become parties to such schemes. So, on the other hand, it would be contrary to the justice and spirit of Democracy to circumscribe within narrow limits the patriotism which guards the rights of the States, and which watches with sleepless vigilance the tendency of the Federal Government to overstep its constitutional duty.

Again: see with what tenderness it vindicates the reputation of the Union Democrats of the South:

"We have seen, with deep regret, reproaches cast upon the Compromise Democrats of the South, because the results of the public judgment in favor of acquiescence in that measure have not been obtained without bringing into power men who might not otherwise have been in the field. It is, for example, said by many of the journals in Mississippi that it is the fault of Mr. Foote and his supporters that that gallant State is now divided, and is represented by a Union party instead of a Democratic party. All such language is libelous and unjust, and can have no other effect than to make permanent the breach which it is the wish of all true Democrats to heal."

In another paragraph, it justifies Mr. Clemens:

"It is doubtless under the sting of reproaches originating in similar misrepresentations of his position as a Union Democrat, that Senator Clemens looks with distrust upon the reorganization of parties which is taking place in his State. If he is to be proscribed for his effort to apply of fidelity to Southern Rights, it is a natural that he should hold himself ready to repel such injustice."

Will our Democratic readers now give us their attention. Messrs. Foote, Clemens, and Cobb, are not acting with the Democratic party—they lead a Coalition composed of Whigs and Democrats, known as the Constitutional Union party—and as the result of their efforts, three Whigs have lately been elected to the Senate of the United States, from Georgia, Mississippi, and Louisiana, and not one Democrat. Georgia is lost to the Democratic party for the next Presidential election; Mississippi and Alabama, hitherto Democratic States, are now doubtful; and yet, the men who have worked these disasters to the Party, are coaxed, petted, and held up, as orthodox Democrats, by the Central Democratic Organ!

This is the Southern side of the picture—look now at the Northern.

The Democrats of Massachusetts, by a masterly combination with the Free-Soilers—a party holding substantially Democratic principles—overthrew the ancient Whig dynasty in that State, and obtained the control of its destinies. For two terms in succession has a Democratic Governor wielded its executive powers; its Legislature has sent to the Senate a man, proscribed by Webster, Whig, and Union men, by the radicalism of Democracy; and its People have sent to the House a Representative who stands in the front rank of the distinguished Democrats of New England.

Here is a coalition, not of contradictory, but harmonious elements, with results of vast importance to the Democratic party. But where stands the Washington Union? Aloof, cold, and reproachful. It can excuse a coalition between Whigs and Democrats in the South, which has given the Whigs nearly a majority in the Senate of the United States, and indignantly repel the slightest imputation on the orthodox Democracy of the Coalitionists, but a Coalition which has overthrown the Whig party in Massachusetts, and injured to the benefit of genuine Democracy, it bitterly denounces, as it refuses now to recognise, while the leaders of it are regarded as unworthy the name of Democrats!

Again: the Democracy of Ohio, with great unanimity, united with the Free-Soilers in sending to the Senate of the United States Salmon P. Chase, the soundness of whose Democratic principles is unquestionable. From an advent in public life, he has uttered no sentiment in politics given no vote, that Democracy could dissent from. He is an Anti-Bank, Free Trade, State Rights, Human Rights, Strict Constructionist Democrat; and owing to his influence, and the efforts of those who specially sympathize with him, Governor Wood, the Democratic candidate, carried the State of Ohio by a majority unprecedented in that State. Now read what the Central Organ of the National Democratic Party has to say of the Ohio Democracy and its exponent in the Senate:

"The assertion of the Appeal that the Washington Union is a traitor, if it does not encourage, the cause Democracy of Ohio, is unqualifiedly false. We have never held, nor intended, that Mr. Chase's course and position, since his election to the Senate, entitled him to be regarded as a Democrat. On the contrary, we have maintained that, if he proposes to unite with the Democratic party, he must do so on a platform implying a renunciation, in the new circumstances of the country, of his Abolitionist errors."

Mr. Cobb, who stands at the head of a Coalition in Georgia, that sends a Whig to the Senate, and refuses to send delegates to the Democratic National Convention, is a capital Democrat; Mr. Foote, whose operations have resulted in the election of a Whig Senator from Mississippi, is a sterling Democrat; Mr. Clemens, who declines to act with the Democratic party, and is committed to another party, is a sound Democrat, and must not be proscribed, because he has been laboring to keep Disunion out of the Democratic creed. But Mr. Chase, whose influence secured a majority of twenty-five thousand in his State to a Democratic Governor, is no Democrat at all—and why? Because he has been laboring to keep Free-Slavery Propaganda out of the Democratic creed, and will not consent that the Democratic party shall be the pack-house of Slavery!

If any one can doubt, after this, the fitness of the Washington Union to be the central

organ of the National Democracy, he is beyond the reach of argument. No matter how thoroughly Democratic in his views and conduct, a man may be upon all questions of public policy, if he refuse to adopt the abhorrent of Slavery, and to recognise that system as entitled to encouragement and extension under Federal auspices, he is no Democrat, in the judgment of the Union. Loyal to Slavery, he may be as erratic as he pleases on other questions, without forfeiting the regard of the Union. All other sins may be forgiven; but the sin against Slavery is unpardonable.

What say the Democracy of the North? Do they hold with their central organ, that the Democratic Church is built upon this rock? If they do, then let them erect an altar to Moloch, and adopt as their symbols the chain and the lash, so that mankind may understand what American Democracy means.

THE REPUBLIC—THE WHIG ORGAN.

Having exhibited the position of the central organ of the Democratic party—such it claims to be, and the claim has not been denied—let us advert to the position of the central organ of the Whig party, the Republic, which claims the right to define the true nature and tests of Whiggery, and to hold the keys of St. Peter, so far as that party is concerned.

It has no word of censure for Messrs. Toombs or Stephens, or for any of those Whigs of the South who have organized a new party, in opposition to the old ones. On the contrary, it sustains them, magnifies their importance, does all it can to propitiate them, aids and abets their policy. In fact, whenever Southern Whigs may say or do right, and its face towards them is all sunshine; but when it looks towards the North, it assumes the stern severity of a Dictator. It proscribes what sort of coalitions Northern Whigs may form; what kind of opinions they may hold; it lays down the law, that no Whig shall have anything to do with Free-Soilers, shall favor Abolitionism, shall oppose the Compromise, or Fugitive Law, shall discuss in any form questions of Slavery; and it excommunicates whatever so-called Whig shall refuse to comply with this requirement. The old platform of Whiggery it has substituted by the Compromise.

"Let us glance," it says, "at the present organization of the Whigs. As far as there can be any National organization, the very first must be indicated by the Executive and Legislative representatives of that party in the absence of any action by a National Convention. The great test which the Union has hitherto applied of fidelity to Southern Rights is adherence to the Compromise. Well, the Whig Administration has adopted and announced two years in succession this very policy. President Fillmore and every member of his cabinet approve of it, and cordially support it. As far, then, as the Executive organization of the Whig party goes, it presents a sufficient protection to Southern Rights. The Whigs of the present House of Representatives, the very first day of the session, adopted a resolution endorsing and reaffirming the policy laid down by the President. There were only two individuals in the caucus, Mr. Fowler and Mr. T. Stevens, who expressed dissent from this resolution. A few days since, the resolution of the Whig caucus was reaffirmed by the Whig Convention of Tennessee. Yesterday we received from the Whig Convention of Kentucky another reaffirmation of the same resolution. As far, then, as we can understand the 'present organization' of the Whig party, it is friendly to the Compromise, and can be trusted to sustain and abide by it."

Again: "If the Whigs cannot triumph on the Compromise ground of the Administration and the Whig caucus, they must be beaten; for the anti-Compromise ground is preoccupied by the Abolitionists and Secessionists of Democracy."

Again: "Such is the 'present organization' of the Whig party, that it can present no Presidential candidate who does not stand where the Whig Administration and the Whig caucus stand. There are no Whigs who stand at the South; there are no Whig Abolitionists at the North. The 'Democracy' has absorbed all the factions into it. Those journalists and those politicians who denounce a Whig Administration, who denounce a Whig Congress, for supporting the Compromise, who have been seeking to unseat the Whig President because he would not fall in with their narrow, sectional, party views and purposes—these journalists and those politicians have only un-Whigged themselves. We hoped to see the Whig party purged of all these revilers and libellers of better Whigs and better men than themselves. We desired no success that it be bought by any sort of trading, bargaining, or co-operating with

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